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NOTES
ON THE
SETTLEMENT OR COLONIZATION
OF
BRITISH SUBJECTS
IN
INDIA:
WITH
AN APPENDIX
OF
PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY
JOHN CRAWFURD, Esq. F.R.S.
&c. &c. &c.

LONDON:

JAMES RIDGWAY, 169, PICCADILLY.

MDCCCXXXIII.

THE
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE President of the Board of Control, having requested that the parties interested in the East India Trade would furnish him with their views on the subject of the Settlement of Europeans in India, very able Papers were, in consequence, laid before him by the East India Committees of Glasgow and Liverpool: and I submitted, in behalf of the Native and European inhabitants of Calcutta, the Notes which form the text of the present publication; which I have endeavoured to render more worthy of general attention, by an Appendix of Illustrations, in which will be found, concentrated, no inconsiderable portion of the information contained in the immense mass of Parliamentary and other Public Documents, printed within the last few years; and which, up to the present day, for they are not yet completed, amount to no less than four-and-twenty folio volumes of various sizes.

J. C.

27, Wilton Crescent, London, }
March 20, 1833. }

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NOTES

ON THE

SETTLEMENT OF BRITISH SUBJECTS

IN

INDIA.

THE Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain ought naturally to be solicitous on the question of the settlement of Englishmen in India,—because, to the existence of free British settlers, they cannot fail to see that the present prosperity of the Indian commerce is mainly, if not wholly, to be attributed ; and because, it is a fact which cannot be controverted, that the more freedom that has hitherto been bestowed upon the intercourse of Europeans with India, the greater has been the benefit conferred upon the trade of India.

This may be briefly illustrated by a very few examples. The external trade in Cotton Wool, which has frequently exceeded in value a million pounds sterling per annum—the manufacture and external trade in Indigo, which exceeds two millions and a half—the external trade in Opium, which is exchanged with the different nations of Asia consuming it, for a sum not under four million pounds sterling per annum,—are, all of them, distinctly traceable to European settlement ; or, at least, it is quite certain, that without the presence of European free settlers no such branches of trade could have existed.* ✓

Without referring to minor improvements, which owe their

* Appendix, A.

origin to European settlers, it may be further mentioned, that ship-building, for foreign trade, is entirely an art of European introduction. About eighty thousand tons of this description of shipping belong to the two ports of Calcutta and Bombay. It is to this class of vessels, let it not be forgotten, that the Government of India has entirely owed its capacity of carrying on all its great military expeditions beyond the bounds of Hindostan; such as the expeditions against the Philippines, Egypt, Macao, and all the French and Dutch possessions.

In periods of scarcity or famine, the same class of vessels has conferred inestimable benefits on the people of India. In the famine which prevailed on the Coromandel coast, in 1824, not less than sixty thousand tons of grain were quickly conveyed by the free-traders from Bengal; and in the famine of 1807, not less than one hundred and twenty thousand tons. It is almost needless to insist, that the native coasting traders of India could not possibly have afforded a similar relief, since it is a well-known fact, that they can perform but a single voyage in the year, and this a very tedious one.

Indeed, it is not too much to assert, that the very existence of the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, still more of the settlements in the straits of Malacca, as ports of foreign commerce, has depended upon the class of persons, who, in former periods of the commercial history of India, used to be called "Interlopers." At the close of the last charter, the total exports and imports of these places was certainly short of thirteen million pounds per annum; they are, at present, probably not under twenty-six millions, or have been doubled in the short period of twenty years;—the commerce of the East India Company, with the exception of two or three articles still exported under pretext of making a remittance of territorial revenue, having meanwhile altogether ceased.*

The beneficial effects of the enterprise of the free British traders has been by no means confined to the British possessions. A very large portion of the commercial prosperity of Canton is derived from the same class of British subjects;

* Appendix, B.

who carry on the most important part of the commerce of the place, either by an evasion of the law, or an open violation of it. The total commerce thus carried on has increased, during the last twenty years, from about four and a half million pounds to double that amount; the commerce of the East India Company with China having, within the same period, declined from £2,700,000 to £2,400,000.*

The same observation applies to Java, and even to Manilla; both of which owe the most active branches of their commerce to British merchants and mariners. The trade of Java, for example, in the highest period of its prosperity, under the monopoly system, was short of one-and-a-half million pounds per annum, and it is now equal to three millions: while a large portion of the imports in it consists of British manufactures, or of the productions of the soil and industry of British India.

The commercial improvements which the merchants and manufacturers of Britain have good reason to expect will result from an extended intercourse of Europeans with India, and their permanent settlement there, may be shortly stated. They will consist of improvement in the quality, and extension in the quantity, of Cotton Wool, to be furnished for the manufactures of this country, now dependent on America, and dependent on a slave population, for nine-tenths of its supply,—of improvement in the culture of the Mulberry, and rearing of the Silk-worm,—improvement in the quality and quantity of Sugar, Rice, Wheat, and other corns,—extension of the culture of Coffee,—and introduction of the culture of Tea, Cocoa, and other products usually denominated colonial,†—the application of skill and capital to the construction of bridges, roads, canals for navigation, and works of irrigation,‡—the application of capital and enterprise to mining operations,§ steam navigation, the coasting trade of India, and the external Asiatic trade.

The ordinary state of the money market in India, affords as striking and conclusive evidence as can be adduced, of the advantages which have heretofore been derived from the presence of free British settlers, while it shows the urgent call

* Appendix, C.

† D.

‡ E.

§ F.

✓ which exists for its extension. On the security of the public revenue, the state is enabled to borrow money at so low an interest as five per cent. Within the special jurisdictions of the King's courts, wherever they exist in India, British merchants, of good credit, are enabled to borrow, on their personal security only, at an interest of from eight to ten per cent. British merchants beyond the special jurisdictions of the King's courts, or residing in the provinces, on the imperfect security of Indigo factories, or other immoveable property, borrow at from ten to twelve per cent. Now, the common rate of interest between native and native, beyond the jurisdiction of the King's courts, is, according to the nature of the security, from twenty-four to sixty per cent, per annum. △ The obvious inference to be drawn from this statement is, that by the permanent settlement of British subjects under fair and equitable laws, a great deal of capital would soon be invested in the improvement of the agriculture, mining, manufactures, communication, and commerce of India, which is at present excluded from it, by the precariousness and consequent high cost of the investment.*

As connected with this subject, the beneficial influence of the free-traders in supporting public credit may be adverted to. Every one acquainted with the commerce of India will at once feel that they are the main stays of commercial credit; and a reference to the public records will show, that by far the greatest part of the public loans, now amounting to some fifty million pounds, have been borrowed by the state only through their agency and assistance.†

For the effectual development of the commercial capabilities of India, the following conditions naturally offer themselves, as those on which it would be eligible that British-born subjects should have access to the country—intercourse with its inhabitants—and liberty of settlement.

1. Every British subject desiring to proceed to India, to

be at liberty to do so without license or certificate, in as free and ample a manner as British subjects are now at liberty to frequent any colonial possession of the Crown.

2. British subjects, when in India, to have liberty to travel or proceed from one British district or province to another with the same freedom as any Native of the country.

3. British subjects not to be banished from India, except by sentence of a Court of Justice, and under the sanction of established laws, equally applicable to them as to the Natives of the country, and the arbitrary power at present vested by law in the local Executive to be of course annulled.

4. British subjects to be permitted to carry on any species of trade or manufacture, or any branch of industry whatsoever, which may be carried on by any Native of the country or other person, and the prohibition to carry on the internal trade in salt, tobacco, rice, &c. to be repealed.*

5. British-born subjects to be permitted to own or hold lands, or other immoveable property, in as free and ample a manner as any native Indian may hold the same, and within every part of the British dominions.

6. The law of inheritance with respect to such property, as well as to moveable property, to be the law of England; and, as more suitable to the circumstances of the country, and compatible with its usages, lands may be considered as personalty and not as realty. No inconvenience can result from this arrangement, since, in all ages of the history of India, the different nations, or tribes, or even castes, inhabiting the country, Hindoos of different sects, Christians of different persuasions, Jews and Mahomedans, have invariably enjoyed their own particular laws of inheritance. This principle seems to have been acted upon even before the Mahomedan

conquest. It prevailed during the Mahomedan rule, and has been acted upon by ourselves, even in those parts of our possessions where English laws, even in their most technical forms, have in almost all other matters been established.

7. British-born subjects, residing in India, to be amenable to the same civil and criminal tribunals as the Indian subjects of the State.

One of the great objections heretofore raised against the permanent settlement of Europeans in India, has been very unfairly derived from the arbitrary and imperfect state of the laws in the provincial courts, originating in the absence of a legal education on the part of the Judges, the corruption of the ministerial officers, and the administration of justice in a language foreign to every party concerned. These defects have been admitted by the parties the most interested in concealing them; and since funds for the improvement of these tribunals exist, as is shown by the present judicial expenditure, of at least a million and a half per annum, it is the indispensable duty of the legislature to furnish a competent administration of justice; and, derogatory to its honour, to plead the imperfection of the present establishment as a ground or argument for the exclusion of European settlement. To quote the words of the present enlightened Governor General of India, Lord William Bentinck, "It would be the height of absurdity to argue, from the inefficiency of our existing institutions, against the admission of Europeans. The remedy, it is clear, is not the exclusion of these, but the reform of our system."*

The existence of Courts, corresponding in number to the present Provincial Courts, presided by a Recorder, or other professional judge, would, in all probability, be found quite competent, for many years, to the administration of justice over the small number of British-born subjects, who, judging from past experience, are likely to resort to India and take up their permanent residence in it.

The natural and convenient seat of such Judicatures would

* Report and General Appendix from the Select Committee, 1832, p. 280.

be the principal cities of the interior, where there frequently exist, at present, City Judges, whose courts might be dispensed with, and the expense attending them saved; as, for example, Moorshedabad, Dacca, Patna, Benares, Bareilly, Delhi, Agra, Furruckabad, Masulipatam, Bangalore, Trichinopoly, Tellicherry, Surat, Poonah, and Ahmedabad. The whole of these places are only named with the view of indicating the localities of such Courts as might eventually become necessary; for in the meanwhile it is not probable, that more than one half, or at most more than two-thirds, of them would be found necessary. These courts might be relieved of a considerable portion of criminal and civil business, by the institution of Courts of Requests, and Courts of Petty Sessions; the Commissioners, or Justices, to consist jointly of natives, Europeans, or the descendants of natives and Europeans.

The yearly salary of a Provincial Judge, in Bengal, is about £4,500; and, when we observe that the King's Recorder of Bombay had £500 less than this; and the Recorder of Prince of Wales Island £1000 less, and yet that sometimes great, and always adequate legal talents were procured at these sums, we cannot anticipate any difficulty in procuring for India ten or fifteen Professional Judges, which would correspond with the number of Provincial Courts throughout every part of India.

These Judges, perhaps, ought to be named by the Local Government; and, at all events, be amenable to the Supreme Local Government for their conduct, in the same manner as the Judges in England are amenable to Parliament, or even in a higher degree.*

An important question, of course, here arises—What civil and criminal Laws ought to be administered? The natural and obvious reply is, the law of the conquerors, after the manner followed by almost all conquerors in all ages; and, especially, in accordance with the practice of our immediate predecessors, the Mahomedans. It is not meant that

* Appendix, J.

English Laws are perfect, or in every respect suited to the genius of Indian society. All that is contended is, that they are the best at our command,—that, with all their imperfections, they are the laws of a civilized people; and, therefore, entitled to a preference over Native Laws of any description, which are confessedly those of barbarians,—and that, at any rate, they are the only laws which English Judges can understand and administer. English laws, more or less skillfully adapted to circumstances, are no innovation in India. Under the name of Mayors, Recorders, or Supreme Courts, they have been administered in different parts of India for a time varying from twenty-five to eighty years, and are at present in full operation over at least a million of people, consisting of various nations and sects of Mahomedans, various nations and sects of Christians, various nations and castes of Hindoos, with Malays, Chinese, Burmese, Siamese, and other nations.

The technicality, the expense, and the delay attending the administration of English law have been justly objected to them, but these are not necessary, but adventitious qualities of English justice; and, judging from the success of some experiments made upon a very considerable scale, may in a great measure be got rid of.

Of the existing tribunals in the Provinces, and of the code of regulations administered in them, it is not necessary to say much, seeing that, after forty years' trial, they have totally failed, and, indeed, been fully condemned by the deliberate judgment of the Home Authorities themselves, as may be seen by the following short quotation :—" In the conduct of trials, in unravelling intricacies of particular cases, in eliciting truth from witnesses, in appreciating evidence, in applying the law to the fact, Indian judges, unprepared by education or otherwise for the judicial office, have many peculiar difficulties to contend with. The code of regulations by which they are bound, consists almost entirely of rules of procedure; the Mahomedan and Hindoo laws are the guide for their decisions in certain cases only, and in all others not specially provided for, the Judge has no law but that of his own conscience.

For propriety in the proceedings of the courts, therefore, little security is to be found in the state of the law, and of the judicial establishment.”*

The utility of jury trial has been much insisted upon even in the administration of justice to the Natives of India; and its admitted success, after an experiment of a good many years, in Ceylon, suggests the utility of adopting it in India. In criminal trials, at least, its necessity in the case of British-born subjects may fairly be insisted upon. In this event, as in the case with Aliens in England, one half of the jury only need consist of British-born subjects, or at least of Christians,—a provision which would not only be fair and equitable in itself, but obviate the difficulty which might, for a considerable time, be expected to arise from the insufficient number of British settlers. It has already been stated, that the monstrous power vested in the Indian Governors, of arbitrarily removing British-born subjects from the country, with or without cause assigned, must be annulled, and this for obvious reasons, which it is almost unnecessary to dwell upon. The bare possession of such a power, has in itself hitherto been quite sufficient to alienate the affections of the free settlers, and thus to convert the natural and the best supporters of the British power in India, into its secret opponents. In proof of this, it is enough to state, that both the Judges and the Law officers of the Indian Government, have repeatedly declared, that, under the present law of transmission or deportation, it was in vain to expect that a British jury would ever give a verdict in favour of the Company, in any case of prosecution for libel. This admission of the effects of the law, is of itself alone a sufficient condemnation of it. But the possession of this power is inconsistent with the perfect security of property. The merchants and manufacturers of Britain, at the distance of 14,000 miles, cannot repose the necessary confidence in agents and correspondents, who, on bare suspicion, and at the arbitrary will or caprice of any individual, however high

* Letter from the Court of Directors, to the Governor General of India, 8th December, 1824, in Selection of Papers from the Records at the East India House, Vol. 4th, page 39.

his rank, may be removed from the management of their affairs, on the brief notice of two short months. The power has now existed forty years, and on a fair retrospect of all the cases in which it has ever been exercised, it would perhaps be difficult, indeed impossible, to point out a single instance of a real or urgent state necessity for its exercise. In several cases, even the Home Authorities themselves have been forced to admit that it was wantonly abused; and yet, in none of these examples has any individual ever succeeded in obtaining that redress which the Law pretends to hold out.

A law to prevent arbitrary imprisonment, similar to our statute of Habeas Corpus, will be indispensably necessary to good government, whether in reference to Europeans or Natives; but neither this privilege, nor the abolition of the arbitrary power of banishing Europeans, vested in the executive authorities, ought to preclude the Governor General, by and with the advice of his Legislative Council, or even on his responsibility without it, from having the power of withholding permission to British-born subjects to resort to disturbed districts, or particular parts of the country where insurrection or rebellion prevailed, or, indeed, it might even be conceded, to places where the Government might deem their residence either dangerous, or politically inexpedient, if any such existed.

But this is a power, which, if conferred, would be rarely exercised; for surely it is obvious to common sense, that it is not to poor, disturbed, or discontented districts that British merchants, traders, or planters, will naturally resort, but on the contrary to those that are rich, populous, and contented. The recent returns from Bengal point this out in a manner highly satisfactory, and the results deserve here to be briefly referred to, in illustration. Indigo Planting, and indeed free-settlement generally, is for the most part confined to the rich, populous, tranquil, and well-ordered provinces of the Bengal Presidency. Within the Bombay Presidency, the territories of which are generally of very recent acquisition, and in which a turbulent, refractory, and disorderly population generally prevails, there is no Indigo, or any other species of planting

carried on by Europeans, and indeed few European settlers, of any description, within the provinces. Under the Madras Presidency, the territory and population of which is generally of a similar character, there is very little Indigo Planting, and very few European settlers in the provinces. Even in Bengal, the extent of Indigo Planting will almost invariably be found to be proportionate to the populousness and tranquillity of the different districts or provinces. It is carried on to the greatest extent in our oldest and most populous acquisitions in Lower Bengal—to a smaller extent in the less pacific districts of the north-west—and not at all in exposed frontier districts—and, above all, in districts which have been the recent scenes of rebellion or insurrection. A perusal of the recent returns will afford the most ample and satisfactory testimony in support of this assertion.*

8. British-born subjects to be liable to the same direct and indirect taxes as native subjects.

This rule naturally suggests many observations referable to the success of Indian commerce. It supposes, in the first place, that the Government of India shall not, in violation of all admitted principle, be a trading government; or, in other words, that one description of British merchants shall not have the power of taxing another description of British merchants, their rivals.†

It supposes, that taxes shall not be imposed through the pernicious instrumentality of monopolies; and, of course, it supposes the abolition of the monopolies of salt, opium, tobacco, &c.; and that a revenue shall be raised from these articles by means less injurious to industry, and less oppressive to the people.‡

It supposes the abolition of all transit, or other internal duties, which in every country have proved serious obstacles to the progress of commerce, which in India are represented as being both burdensome to the people, and vexatious to the trader, and which, in a great many instances, are proved, by

* Appendix, K.

† L.

‡ M.

the public records, to be levied at a heavy cost, and therefore to be very unproductive to the treasury.*

It supposes also the abolition of all custom duties between the territories of one presidency or settlement, and another presidency or settlement, which at present prevail in the same manner as if the different governments, or settlements, were foreign countries in relation to each other.†

By the present law, no new or additional imposition of any duty or tax upon the export, import, or transit of any merchandise whatsoever, is valid until the same be approved of by the Home Authorities.‡ This clause, the operation of which has proved highly beneficial, was introduced into the Act of 1813, as a necessary protection to the distant speculations of the British merchant. The same rule should be continued, and indeed it may be suggested, that the principle might be carried a great deal farther, with infinite advantage to the good government of India, from which the commerce of India with England is inseparable. If, for example, it were enacted, that no new or additional tax whatever should be imposed by the local Legislature of India, until the law imposing the same had been duly published in India—received the sanction of the Home Authorities, and afterwards been duly published in England, the necessary effect would be to give to the system of Indian taxation, a degree of confidence, certainty, and stability, heretofore unknown to it; and at the same time to corroborate, on the most wholesome and legitimate principles, the natural and necessary dependence of India upon the Crown and Government of England.§

Such are the conditions on which it appears that British settlement in India might be safely and advantageously carried into effect. They suppose the existence of a Legislative Council, to which British and Indian subjects of all classes shall be equally admissible, to assist the executive power in framing laws for the good government of India. British free settlers, admitted to such a Council in common with others,

* Appendix, N.

† O.

‡ 53 George III. c. 155, s. 25.

§ Appendix, P.

could not in reason object to obey, or live under, laws enacted by such a body.

On the safety and expediency of the free settlement of Europeans in India, considered in a political point of view, a very few words may suffice, in reply to the very feeble opposition which has recently been offered to the measure, either in England or in India.

In the discussions which preceded the present Charter, the alleged misconduct of European settlers, and the danger which would accrue to our political power in India, from the vast number of this class of persons which it was imagined would flock to India in the event of an open trade, were arguments much insisted upon with a view to preserve the monopoly and close system. The value of these assertions may be judged of by the results, as they are exhibited to us in the official Returns submitted by the very parties themselves, who predicted that so much evil would be the consequence of free commerce and free intercourse. When the Directors of the East India Company were called upon, by the late Select Committee of the House of Commons, for a Return of the free-settlers residing in India, it was found that they were possessed of no official statement whatsoever, even of the numbers of those persons from whose presence they had anticipated so much danger to our political power, and the Return which they made to the order of the Select Committee, was expressly stated to be derived "chiefly from Almanacks published in India." By this Return, it would appear that the total number of British settlers in India in 1815, at least a whole year after the commencement of the free-trade, was but 1501, and in 1828, thirteen years afterwards, but 2016. Instead of a vast rush of Europeans resorting to India, no indication whatever of such resort appears on the face of the public records; for the greatest number of persons who ever made application to go out, in any one year, was 92. The total number of applications for leave to proceed to India, in the eighteen years ending with 1831, was but 1547, being, on an average, no more than eighty-six in each year. The actual number of persons who obtained licences to proceed in

the eighteen years in question, however, was but 1324, giving, on an average, but 74 per annum, which is far less than one individual for each ship which has proceeded to India in the free-trade, since the Indian commerce was thrown open.*

Such is exactly the result which might in reason have been anticipated, and for obvious reasons. First, the voyage is long, irksome, and expensive. A first cabin passage costing at least £100, a second £60, and a steerage passage not less than £35 or 40:—Secondly, the climate of India is disagreeable to the European constitution, and not always salubrious:—Thirdly, the prohibition to hold lands, and the law of transmission, are obvious discouragements to capitalists:—and, Fourthly, every avenue to political preferment is closed against adventurers, the nomination to every office of credit or profit being made in England.

The Returns furnished, in compliance with the orders of the Court of Directors, by the authorities in India, respecting the conduct of the Indigo Planters, the class of British settlers who had been the chief subjects of obloquy, afford by far the completest practical answer which has hitherto been given to the absurd objections which had been urged against the usefulness, safety, and expediency of European settlement. All the Judges and Magistrates were directed to make a report to the Government of Bengal, touching the conduct of the European Planters towards the native inhabitants, as well as their general behaviour, and this report, in its very nature, was both secret and *ex parte*. The inquiry embraced the conduct of 473 Planters with their assistants, spread over thirty-two districts, or, more correctly, Provinces, containing an area of 220,000 square miles, or a territory three times the extent of Great Britain, with perhaps twice as many inhabitants as the United Kingdom. From every district where the magistrate has given an opinion, that opinion is highly favourable, except in one instance, where the party only objects, that he is “not apprised of any great improvement in cultivation, in manufactures, arts and sciences, by the

* Report of 1831, p. 769. Report and General Appendix, 1832, p. 268.

planters," and that he, "on the general scale, is inclined to believe that the character of indigo planters is not high." In the district, however, thus reported upon, it does not very distinctly appear that there are any European indigo planters. The opinions of all the other public officers is invariably favourable. The general scope of the reports is, that the indigo planters in their dealings were—"honourable and upright,"—that their treatment of the natives was "kind and conciliatory,"—that "instances of misconduct were of very rare occurrence,"—that "the country at large derives great benefit from the residence of respectable Europeans in the interior,"—that the proprietors eagerly "apply to the planters to build factories on their estates,"—that "the lower classes of the natives were better clothed, richer, and more industrious in the neighbourhood of the factories, than those at a distance from them,"—that "they are of the greatest possible benefit to the country, giving employment to thousands,"—that "if the capital put in circulation by them were withdrawn, crimes would greatly increase,"—that the planters could not be looked upon "in any other light, than as a great benefit to the people, in expending much capital among them, raising the value of land and labour, and accommodating them in their necessities on much more liberal terms, than they could obtain from any other quarter,"—that, from the large capital circulated by the planters, "the comforts of all classes had been increased, the Zemindar's rents (meaning the land tax) had been realized with greater facility, and immense tracts of jungle, that overspread the country before the cultivation of indigo was introduced, have totally disappeared." These are exactly the effects which had been so often insisted upon by the indigo planters, and by their friends, although, generally, in language more measured.*

Some parties who fully admit the utility and necessity of British settlement in India, insist, however, that this settlement should be limited to "respectable persons," and that the exercise of the right of limitation should be vested in the

* Report and General Appendix, 1832, p. 295.

government. The government would, in this case, be called upon to decide who was, and who was not "respectable"—a course open to innumerable objections. First, no government is ever possessed of competent means to decide such a point: Second, the task of deciding is an invidious, if not an odious office, even if it were a practicable one: Third, the power of deciding this point, is exceedingly apt to become a matter of patronage in the hands of the government, or, at least, of its ministerial officers. This is proved, by comparing the conduct of the Court of Directors before and since Parliament interfered with the mode of licensing free-traders to proceed to India. In the first nine years, ending with 1822, when the Home Indian Government was left to itself, the Directors rejected above 30 per cent. of all the applications made to them for leave to proceed to India; but, after the interference of Parliament, and in the nine years, ending with 1831, they rejected less than 13 per cent. only. Indeed, as to the pretended knowledge of the Home Government, respecting the real character of the residents in India, or even as to its entertaining any actual solicitude upon this subject, we possess a virtual contradiction in the striking fact already referred to, that when called upon to state their numbers, they were found to be possessed of no information whatever on the subject, save what they drew from old Indian Almanacks. Had the question appeared to them of the smallest political moment, it may fairly be inferred, that they would have been found possessed, not only of a record of their numbers, but even of the private history and character of each individual among them. For the first fifteen years, of the present charter at least, such information was not deemed either important or necessary, and it was not until after the commencement of the present Parliamentary inquiry that the Court of Directors thought of calling for this sort of information.*

But the strongest argument of all against legislating to restrict emigration to India, and settlement there, to "persons of respectability," is, that the restraint is superfluous and un-

* Letter from the Court of Directors, dated the 6th of August, 1828, in General Report and Appendix, 1832, p. 291.

necessary. The poorer classes of society could not find their way to India; or, when there, could not find employment. The passage-money, as already stated, could not cost less than £30 or £35, while the out-fit would not amount to a less sum; and, after this disbursement of £60 or £70, the emigrant, if an ordinary day-labourer, would arrive in India without a farthing in his pocket; and this too in a country of which the market is already fully stocked, in some places indeed overstocked, with labourers.

Even the apprehension, of Europeans proceeding from the sea-ports to the interior, is utterly chimerical. Two and three hundred English sailors, out of employ, have been known to be at one time in Calcutta, upon several occasions, since the opening of the trade; but these, instead of proceeding into the interior for dangerous purposes, have scarcely ever been known to wander even into the neighbouring villages.

The European settlers, for whom there is a demand in India, will consist of skilful artizans of the highest class; mariners of the better class: or, more correctly, navigators and pilots; engineers, teachers; merchants, agriculturists, and other capitalists. The lowest of these classes will barely be conveyed to India at a less cost than £100. If left entirely to themselves, there is not the slightest danger that men of this description will not be sufficiently respectable; that is to say, be possessed of knowledge, integrity, diligence, and temper; because these qualifications, as every body in the least degree acquainted with India knows, are as necessary in that country to the success of the adventurer as either skill or capital, while it may fairly be doubted, whether one individual out of a thousand, not in the public employment of the State, has ever succeeded without being possessed of them. In corroboration of this view of the character of the class of Europeans likely to emigrate to India, it is only necessary to advert to the fact, that the settlers at present in India are chiefly found concentrated as merchants, mariners, teachers, and head-artificers, in the principal towns, or as agricultural capitalists in the provinces,—not where the population is scanty, and the price of labour comparatively high; but where the former is dense, and the latter comparatively low.

In truth, not only no advantage has accrued from the restrictions heretofore placed on the emigration of Europeans to India, and their settlement there, but these restrictions are themselves chargeable with no inconsiderable share of the irregularities which have been very unfairly complained of. The demand for European skill and capital in India, during the rigour of the restrictive regulations, it is sufficiently known, was often supplied from the most anomalous and suspicious sources—from runaways from the East India Company's ships—from British subjects who had found their way to India by defying the laws—from runaway or emancipated convicts from New South Wales—and French, Dutch, and Danish adventurers from the Indian settlements of these nations;—in many instances, persons destitute of the necessary character and education. Ever since the relaxation of the restrictions in 1814, and since the competition has been opened to a less exceptionable class of Europeans, the character of the settlers has been constantly improving, and the improvement has always been in proportion to the extent to which the relaxation has been carried; a fact of which there is abundant evidence in the documents laid before the different Select Committees of the House of Commons, which have been sitting for the last three years.*

* Appendix, Q.



ERRATA.

The Author having been absent during the printing of the Appendix, several typographical errors have, unluckily, crept in, of which the following are corrections.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|------|-----|-----|------------------|------|-------------------|
| Page | 27, | Line | 4, | for | " 1821," | read | " 1831." |
| — | 29, | — | 3, | — | " portion," | — | " position." |
| — | 29, | — | 4, | — | " Mirrapore," | — | " Mirzapore." |
| — | 29, | — | 13, | — | Ditto, | | Ditto. |
| — | 33, | — | 23, | — | " are likely," | — | " are so likely." |
| — | 35, | — | 8, | — | " Meerub," | — | " Meerut." |
| — | 35, | — | 34, | — | " Nitron," | — | " Natron." |
| — | 36, | — | 18, | — | " Dirapore," | — | " Dinapore." |
| — | 36, | — | 19, | — | " Chufra," | — | " Chupra." |
| — | 36, | — | 24, | — | " croak," | — | " crock." |
| — | 36, | — | 34, | — | " Quilt-shaped," | — | " Quill-shaped." |
| — | 37, | — | 30, | — | " Bagee Rao," | — | " Bajee Rao." |
| — | 41, | — | 26, | — | " Leharunpore," | — | " Saharunpore." |
| — | 42, | — | 6, | — | " Sylhel," | — | " Sylhet." |
| — | 44, | — | 7, | — | " collections," | — | " collection." |
| — | 45, | — | 2, | — | " Achrois," | — | " Octrois." |
| — | 46, | — | 33, | — | " locatees," | — | " treaties." |

APPENDIX
OF
PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

The first part of the report
 deals with the general situation
 and the results of the survey.
 The second part contains the
 detailed description of the
 various types of cases.
 The third part discusses the
 causes of the disease and
 the measures for its prevention.
 The fourth part contains the
 conclusions and recommendations.
 The fifth part contains the
 summary of the results of the
 survey.

2. Description of the disease

The disease is characterized by
 the following symptoms:
 1. Fever
 2. Headache
 3. Nausea
 4. Vomiting
 5. Diarrhea
 6. Stomach pain
 7. Muscle aches
 8. Fatigue
 9. Loss of appetite
 10. Weakness
 11. Irritability
 12. Sleeplessness
 13. Anxiety
 14. Depression
 15. Hallucinations
 16. Delirium
 17. Coma
 18. Death

APPENDIX.

A.

THE reader may form some judgment of the extent to which two of these branches of trade have been carried, by the quantity and value of each of them imported from British India into China, in the year 1821. They are as follows:—

| | Value. |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| Cotton, Lbs. 65,490,933 | £1,193,813 |
| Opium, 2,302,530 | 2,409,743 |
| | £3,603,556* |

The value of the Indigo produced in Bengal, exclusive of that produced within the Madras territory, may be judged of from the following passage of a memorial from the principal merchants of Calcutta to the Governor General in 1829. “The number of begahs,” say they, “appropriated to this crop is between thirty-five and forty lacks.” (From one million and fifty thousand, to one million two hundred statute acres.) “The value of the Indigo annually produced, is from two-and-a-half to three crore of rupees,” (from two-and-a-half to three million pounds sterling,) “whereof, perhaps, two crore are expended in this country for rent, stock, wages, interest on capital, &c.; and a large portion, probably three-fourths of the balance, is remitted to England.”—*General Appendix to Report, from Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the affairs of the East India Company, 1832, page 273.*

* Anglo-Chinese Calendar and Companion, Macao, 1832.

B.

Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, are known to have risen from the condition of villages to that of opulent towns in a very short period of years. The following particulars respecting the progress of Bombay, are exceedingly interesting and instructive. The writer, a member of the government, resided many years in the place, and possessed not only the opportunity, but the capacity to judge. "I will, however," says he, "appeal to facts, to the condition of the population of Bombay, the oldest European settlement in India, having been under the Portuguese and British rule for three centuries. On its cession to the Crown of England, in 1661, its population did not exceed 15,000 souls, 'the outcasts of the natives of India.' It now contains 15,474 houses, valued at £3,606,424, and a population exceeding 229,000 souls. There are many natives of great wealth, great intelligence, and of liberal principles."—*Second Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee in the Public Department, 1832, p. 274.*

The rapid prosperity of Singapore is a well known example. The colony, for it may so be called, was founded in the month of February, 1819. The first census of the population was taken by my own directions, in 1824, five years thereafter, when the inhabitants were found to amount to 10,683. In 1830, they had increased to 16,634, and, although I have no particular statement in my possession to show it, I am told they at present exceed 20,000. The statement of the trade for eight years, for no accounts were kept prior to 1824, is as follows, reduced from Sicca rupees to pounds sterling, at the rate of ten rupees to the pound.

| Year. | Imports. | Exports. | Both. |
|-------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| 1824 | 1,455,509 | 1,390,268 | 2,845,717 |
| 1825 | 1,323,917 | 1,228,786 | 2,552,703 |
| 1826 | 1,361,978 | 1,388,306 | 2,750,284 |
| 1827 | 1,488,599 | 1,387,201 | 2,875,800 |
| 1828 | 1,961,120 | 1,804,660 | 3,765,780 |
| 1829 | 2,121,559 | 1,876,250 | 3,997,809 |
| 1830 | 1,875,350 | 1,826,634 | 3,701,984 |
| 1831 | 1,780,994 | 1,565,157 | 3,346,151 |

Wherever British skill, enterprise, and capital, can reach, wherever they can be exercised without molestation, and wherever the portion is to any degree commercially favourable, we have similar results. The modern town of Mirrapore, in the interior of Bengal, on the south bank of the Ganges, and about five hundred miles from Calcutta, is a very striking example. The following is the judicious Mr. Hamilton's description of it, in 1828. "It is at present one of the greatest inland trading towns, and has long been the grand mart for cotton. The native inhabitants are more remarkable for their active industry than in any part of the Company's dominions out of the three capitals. A considerable quantity of fileture silk is imported to Mirrapore from Bengal, and passes here to Upper and Central Hindostan. In the vicinity a very durable carpeting and various fabrics of cotton are manufactured. The modern town consists of handsome European houses, native habitations, and clusters of Hindoo temples crowding the banks of the Ganges, and, seen from the river, the whole makes an animated appearance. The soil of the town, and lands adjacent, is so strongly impregnated with saline particles, as materially to injure buildings composed of brick and mortar. In 1801, Mirrapore was found to contain 50,000 inhabitants, which have probably since then increased at least one half, not only from the uninterrupted tranquillity it has enjoyed, but also from the additional stimulus, occasioned by the opening of the commerce with Europe, and the increased demand for cotton, the bales of which are sent direct to Diamond Harbour."

C.

The first year for which a correct statement of the trade of the Port of Canton with British India exists, is 1817-18. Comparing the British trade of that year, with the British trade in 1830, the following are the results in thirteen years, in pounds sterling.

| | Exports and Imports. | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| | 1817. | 1830. |
| East India Company, . . . £ | 2,611,846 | 2,672,005 |
| Free Trade, | 3,606,135 | 6,796,465 |
| Total, £ | 6,217,981 | 9,468,470 |

We have here the Company's trade nearly stationary, and yet the whole trade increased by more than 50 per cent. The great increase has been in the article of Opium. The comparative quantities and values, in the two years named, were as follow, it being held in mind that the actual consumption, and not the mere imports, are referred to.

| Year. | Chests. | Lbs. | £ |
|----------|---------|-----------|------------|
| 1817-18 | 3,680 | 527,773 | 845,921 |
| 1830-31 | 18,760 | 2,599,013 | 2,795,006 |
| Increase | 15,080 | 2,071,240 | 1,949,085* |

The following particulars respecting China, a country which is so soon to be opened to the trade of the United Kingdom, after an exclusion of two centuries, may be interesting to the commercial reader. By census, taken in 1813, the population of China Proper was, for each of its eighteen provinces, as follows:—

| Provinces. | Capital Cities. Lat. N. | Area. Statute Miles. | Population. | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-----------|
| | | | Total. | Per mile. |
| Pechely, | 40° | 59,700 | 27,990,871 | 468 |
| Kiongnan, (two divisions,) | 32 | 85,000 | 72,011,560 | 347 |
| Kiansi, | 29 | 72,000 | 30,426,999 | 422 |
| Fokien, | 26 | 57,150 | 14,777,410 | 258 |
| Chekian, | 30 | 37,200 | 26,256,784 | 705 |
| Houkouan, (two divisions,) | 31 | 168,300 | 46,022,605 | 273 |
| Honan, | 35 | 62,000 | 23,037,171 | 371 |
| Shantung, | 37 | 56,800 | 28,958,764 | 510 |
| Shansi, | 38 | 63,500 | 14,004,210 | 220 |
| Shensi, (two divisions,) | 36 | 167,700 | 25,562,131 | 150 |
| Sechuen, | 31 | 175,600 | 21,435,678 | 122 |
| Canton, | 23 | 97,100 | 19,174,030 | 197 |
| Kouansi, | 25 | 87,800 | 7,313,895 | 83 |
| Yunnan, | 25 | 131,400 | 5,561,320 | 42 |
| Kweichow, | 26 | 51,200 | 5,288,219 | 103 |
| Total, | | 1,372,450 | 367,821,647 | 268 † |

* Appendix to Report from Select Committee of 1831, p. 663.

† Anglo-Chinese Calendar and Companion.

The population of China Proper, or the population consisting of the proper Chinese race, amounted then, twenty years ago, to 367,821,647; which, enormous as it appears, gives for the area of the country no more than 268 to the square mile—a density not equal to that of our own country, or of several other countries of Europe. The reader, by casting his eye over the table, and comparing it with the map, will see how this immense mass of human beings is distributed, and hence will be able to speculate what portions of the country are likely to afford the greatest commercial resources. The most densely peopled provinces are those of the east, and lying either upon the sea-coast, and abounding in harbours, or situated in the great alluvial plains of the principal rivers. All the great rivers of China running from west to east, it follows that the western portions of China are for the most part hilly; consequently barren, and in most cases thinly peopled. One great province, bordering upon the country of the Birmans, Tonquinese, and Siamese, has so low a rate of population as 42 to the square mile. Lying towards this quarter, even the province of Canton, best known to Europeans, and supposed by them to be so populous, is found, on account of its mountainous and sterile character, to contain less than 200 inhabitants to the square mile; a ratio much inferior to that of the British possessions in Bengal. But the population of the Chinese Empire, now given, is that of China Proper only. In Tartary and other dependencies, there is a further population, which is estimated at 2,203,654; making the total, in round numbers, 370 millions.

The amount of the Chinese taxes, levied in money, is ten millions sterling, and the value of those levied in kind, is about two millions; making the whole about twelve millions sterling, which is under eighteen pence per head. This however is not the whole amount of Chinese taxation; it is only what is remitted to the Imperial treasury, after deducting many local and provincial charges.

D.

The statement respecting Cotton, in the text, is underrated. The proportion of East Indian Cotton consumed in Britain does not much exceed one-twentieth part of the whole consumption. The rest, with the exception of a small quantity of Egyptian cotton produced by forced labour, is the produce of Slave labour in the United States.

Of the quantity of Sugar imported into the United Kingdom, amounting to nearly half a million of cwts. not above *one-twenty-third part* is the produce of the British territories in India. From the island of Mauritius, there is imported about two-and-one-fourth times as much as from the whole of the British dominions in India—that is, from the parent country of the sugar-cane, with its 550 thousand square miles, and its 70 millions of inhabitants, where there are very few provinces or even districts in which the sugar-cane is not grown, and over the greater part of which the art of manufacturing sugar has been known time out of mind.

The manufacture of raw Silk for exportation, was introduced by the East India Company into Bengal about sixty years ago, and having been chiefly in their hands, or the hands of Natives of India, throughout, the article has undergone very little improvement in point of quality, although, particularly since 1814, there has been a large increase in the quantity.*

With Indigo, the case has been very different from silk. The manufacture of an article fit for exportation was introduced about ten years later than that of silk; and having been all along in the hands of European adventurers, joined

* As the production of Raw Silk, after the demolition of the Company's monopoly, is likely to become one of the most important articles to the agriculture and commerce of India, and the manufacture of Great Britain—it may be proper here to mention, that both the mulberry and the worm, which produce the inferior silk of India, differ specifically from those which yield the finer silks of Italy, France, China, and Persia, but that, notwithstanding this, occasional parcels of silk are produced with care, which are little inferior to the finest Italian.

of late years by a few enterprising Natives, it has sustained an improvement, both as to quantity and quality, quite unprecedented by any corresponding commodity. The progress of this important manufacture may be judged of by the importations into Great Britain of Indian and all other Indigo, in two periods :—

| Year. | Indian. | All other. | Total. |
|-------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| | lbs. | lbs. | lbs. |
| 1785 | 154,291 | 1,539,208 | 1,693,509 |
| 1830 | 7,920,172 | 296,268 | 8,216,440 |

The results are these. In a period of forty-five years the importation of Indigo into this kingdom has been increased nearly five-fold; the importation of East Indian Indigo has, in the same period, been multiplied more than fifty-fold; while that of all other Indigo has fallen to less than one-fifth of what it was.

E.

With respect to internal communication, British India is still in a very barbarous state; little or nothing existing in the way of roads, bridges, or navigable canals, except a few, constructed chiefly for military purposes, by the Mahomedan and British Governments. Something more has been effected in the way of irrigation, in the north of India, chiefly by the Mahomedan Government, and in the south more generally by petty Hindoo chiefs. In India, as in other dry and hot countries, a skilful irrigation multiplies the productive powers of the soil, according to circumstances, from five to ten fold. There is no department of industry, therefore, in which enterprise, science, and capital, are likely to be profitably and beneficially employed. The following sketch will show the state of navigation and irrigation in the oldest portions of the British dominions, and which have been nearly seventy years under our management. It is drawn by a well-informed writer,

✓ but an admirer of the present exclusive system :—" Not-
 ✓ withstanding," says he, " the innumerable water-tracks which
 pervade the lower portions of the Bengal province, there is no
 ✓ part of India where communication, by means of good roads,
 or navigable canals, is so much wanted. Here are few nul-
 ✓ lahs (streams) navigable even for the lightest craft, except
 ✓ in the rains, and no roads ; so that it is only whilst the country
 is inundated that any thing like free intercourse prevails be-
 ✓ tween one quarter and another. Every place is consequently
 ✓ left almost entirely to its own resources for four-fifths of the
 year ; like a beleaguered city, suffering every privation, whilst
 a general superabundance reigns, perhaps, throughout the
 ✓ country.—Then, again, canals for irrigation. In Bengal,
 ✓ irrigation is scarcely known ; yet there cannot be a doubt of
 the incalculable advantage to agriculture which it would pro-
 duce. The soil of the lower parts of Bengal is not refreshed
 in the moderate degree congenial to cultivation. It is either
 ✓ inundated, or parched almost to absolute sterility ; like the
 ✓ effects of intoxication on the human frame—for having been
 ✓ the more drunk, it becomes the more dry. And the soil is
 of that nature, that as soon as the moisture is evaporated—
 which a few days, after the waters subside, are sufficient to
 accomplish—the face of the earth becomes so indurated, that
 ✓ it resembles a surface of rock, intersected by fissures, its
 ✓ miniature ravines, which no tender plant can perforate. It
 requires no more to convince one of the advantage which the
 ✓ command of refreshing moisture would give to the cultivator
 of such a soil."—*Observations on the Law and Constitution
 of India, by Lieutenant Colonel Galloway, of the Honour-
 ✓ able East India Company's Service. Second edition, 1832,*
 p. 281.

✓ The East India Company laid before the Select Com-
 mittee of the Commons, in 1831, what they were pleased to
 call, " An abstract Statement of all important Public Works
 which have been constructed in India, or are at present in
 progress ; such as Canals or Roads, since the last renewal
 of the East India Company's Charter." These extend from
 1812 to 1831, or for a period of twenty years, and embrace

all India. Exclusive of surveys, they amount in number to 193. Some of the works in question are for purely official purposes; some consist of mere repairs; some consist of the formation of a tank; some of the digging of a well. Among the important public works, we have "The erection of a Mausoleum at Ghazeepore to the memory of Marquis Cornwallis,"—"The building of a bridge over the nullah (brook) at Meerub,"—"Two *pucha* (of stone and masonry) wells, constructed at Meerub; one for the use of the Natives, and for watering the roads of cantonments, and the other for the use of the public libraries,"—and, "The clearing of the Island of Saugor authorized."—The last entry is curious. After much entreaty, permission was at length given by the government, to private Europeans and others, to clear the Island of Saugor; and the bare permission, thus charily conceded, is called "an important public work." But, in fact, much less blame is to be ascribed to the East India Company for not acting themselves, than for preventing others from acting. It is not, in fact, from the state, but from the activity and enterprise of private adventurers, that works of great and extensive public utility are to be expected in a civilized community, or under any form of regular government. The East India Company has, perhaps, not expended, in the whole period of its rule of seventy years, as much money on works of public utility, as has been laid out in the single speculation of the Liverpool and Manchester railway. Had they not hindered them, it is needless to add how much more would have been invested by private adventurers over the wide and unoccupied field of British India.—*Report of Select Committee of the Commons*, 1831, p. 770.

F.

The useful Mineral products, which exist in India, may be described as consisting of Iron, Copper, Lead, Lime, Mineral-coal, Load-stone, Granite, and other useful building stone, with Saltpetre, Nitron, and culinary Salt. In quarrying,

mining, and smelting, British India may yet be described as in its very infancy. Good iron-ore is very generally to be found throughout India; and mines of mineral-coal have recently been wrought, in the Bengal provinces, by some enterprising Europeans. At present, about fifteen thousand tons are annually produced; chiefly in consequence of the recent introduction of steam navigation upon the Ganges. It may safely be presumed, that mining operations will engage a considerable share of European enterprise and capital, when European settlement is established upon a safe and fair footing. The reader may judge of the state of the arts, from the manner in which the manufacture of the staple article of Saltpetre is conducted. For the production of this commodity, some portions of the territories under Bengal possess advantages of soil and climate which far surpass those of any other portion of the world; and, in fact, about fifteen thousand tons are annually exported. The description of the process is as follows:—"In the neighbourhood of Patna, Dirapore, Chufra, &c. where the soil is highly charged with saltpetre, a large quantity is manufactured, and, for the most part, by Natives, who are very successful in the simple process they adopt; which is conducted in the following manner:—A quantity of impregnated earth being thrown into an earthen *gumlah*, (an unglazed croak, or large jar,) clear water is poured upon it, and allowed to remain for twenty-four hours; during which the saline particles are drawn up and incorporated. The water is then let off by holes, at the bottom of the *gumlah*, into smaller vessels, and boiled until the whole evaporates, leaving only the saltpetre. A species of salt is made from the froth which rises upon the surface of the water during the process of extracting the nitre from the earth. The saltpetre made by the first process is termed *Abbee*, (watery,) and undergoes a second evaporation, in the same manner as before, when it assumes the name of *Culmee*, (quilt-shaped chrystals.)"—*Bell's Review of the External Commerce of Bengal*. Calcutta, 1830. Page 28, part II.

The process of manufacturing culinary salt, in Bengal, for the consumption of a population of from thirty to forty millions

of people, is still more wretched. And, for a bad article, costs nearly four times as much as a good article costs in Cheshire,—a ton of the first costing, on an average, at Calcutta, 60s.; and of the latter, in Liverpool, not more than 16s. “I find,” says a most intelligent witness, “that a *molungee*—it is not stated whether it is with his labourer or without, but it is understood that a *molungee* has his labourer—and that, with his labourer, he can manufacture, with extraordinary labour, in the course of the season, 50 maunds, or 4200 pounds. The price of labour averages two rupees per month; so that these two men receive twenty-eight rupees, or 53s. 8d. Now, in Cheshire, two men would manufacture, in one week, 25 tons, or 56,000 pounds; and the wages, 24s. In any comparison I can make as to the manufacture in the two countries, I ought to mention a contingency to which the manufacturer in India seems exposed. I find that, in 1825, an irruption of the sea swept away, at Hattiah Sunguthy, in Chittagong, 318,000 maunds of salt; these contingencies we are not subject to in this country.”—*Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company—Revenue*, p. 51.

G.

Of the rate of interest, between Native and Native, the following evidence, among a thousand, may be quoted. “What is the usual rate of interest paid by Ryots for sums borrowed from Soucars?” (Bankers.) “Twelve per cent. per annum; but, of course, this varies according to the exigencies of the borrower and the rapaciousness of the lender. It is said never to have been two per cent. per month, during, or before, the time of Nana Furraveese, and very seldom so much; but, since Bagee Rao’s accession, it has been known to be as high as ten per cent. per month; and several instances are within my recollection, where bonds produced in the adawlut (court of justice) stated the interest to be three, four, and five per cent. per mensem.”—“*Question*. Does the rate vary

when the loan is for grain instead of money?" "Yes; but it is not possible to define the rates. Those at one-and-a-half, two, and two-and-a-quarter fold, were the most common, and depended on the time the debt was likely to be unpaid."—*Report on the Deccan, in Selection of Papers from the Records at the India House*, vol. 4th, p. 749.

H.

Of the Registered, or Funded Debt of India, the following is the Official Statement of the proportions held respectively by Natives and Europeans, in 1830 :—

| | |
|----------------------|-------------|
| Europeans, | £22,913,990 |
| Natives, | 7,860,102 |
| Total, | £30,774,092 |

—*Second Appendix to Finance Report, from Select Committee of 1832*, p. 214.

Another advantage which the Government of India has gained from the settlement of Europeans, and the influx of capital consequent upon it, is the reduction of interest which it has been enabled to make on the public debt. Under the close system, and even in periods of the greatest political prosperity, the interest on which the public loans were raised was twelve, ten, and eight, per cent.; and it was not until 1812, that any considerable sum of money was raised at so low a rate as six per cent. Even in time of war, money has, of late years, been borrowed at so low an interest as five, ten, and even four, per cent. At the first-named rate, near £25,000,000 have been raised; and, at the second rate, upwards of £400,000. Between the lowest rate, at which loans were commonly raised before the free-trade, or eight per cent., and the rates now specified, the difference, or annual saving, is £766,000. Had the terms of all the loans admitted it, the interest upon the whole public debt, of near £40,000,000, might have been reduced to five per cent; and this reduction will actually be made at the termination of the Charter. The public expenditure will, in this manner, have

been reduced, in 1834, through the instrumentality of the free-trade, so deprecatd by the East India Company, by the annual sum of £1,200,000. The government, in fact, has been benefited to this extent, unknown to itself, and in spite of itself. This is a much larger sum than the Company ever made by its trade, even including the Tea Monopoly!!

I.

The first of these conditions may be considered as conceded, since the Notes were written; as it forms one of the distinct propositions of the Indian Minister to the Court of Directors. With respect to the second, under the liberal administration of Lord William Bentinck, and with the progress of liberal opinions, the vexatious regulations respecting passports, appear, in Bengal at least, to be much relaxed. Nothing can show more clearly the worthless character of the regulations in question, than the fact, that, under the Company's Government, passports are required by Europeans only, and, under the Government of the Crown, in Ceylon, by Natives only. The apprehended danger, in the one case, is from the conquerors; and, in the other, from the conquered; and from both it is equally absurd and unreasonable, for it can be attended with no effect whatever, except that of exciting distrust, suspicion, and dislike. In regard to the third condition, going to the British possessions in India without licence, is at present declared by law to be "a high crime and misdemeanour;" punishable by "fine or imprisonment, or both fine and imprisonment." No person, even with a licence, can go beyond ten miles of a principal settlement without a special written leave; any more than a soldier can quit a garrison without leave of absence. So absurd is this enactment, that the Governor General, in his own person, is violating it every week, when he goes to his country-seat, which is sixteen miles from Calcutta. It is violated daily by the masters, officers, and mariners, of trading-ships, when

they join their vessels at any of the several stations where shipping usually lie, all of which are above ten miles from Calcutta. Persons fully licensed may, notwithstanding, have their licence withdrawn, without cause assigned, and be ordered to quit India on two months' notice; and, failing obedience, the party is deemed, in the absurd and barbarous jargon of the monopolists, to have "unlawfully traded;" that is, deemed to have forfeited "all his goods," "with double the value thereof," to have committed a high crime and misdemeanour, and to be liable, on conviction, to fine or imprisonment, or to both. Finally, in actions against the East India Company, or its servants, for the unlawful arresting of persons found in the East Indies, the defendants may plead the general issue; the proof lies on the plaintiff, and, if his proof fails, he is liable to "treble costs." These barbarous and atrocious enactments, which are a disgrace to the Statute Book, are the fruits of the alliance between the governments of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, in 1784 and 1793; continued by their successors in 1813. With regard to the fourth condition, surely nothing can be more mischievous, or ridiculous, than the prohibition, to British-born subjects, to deal in the internal trade, in such staple articles as salt, tobacco, grain, and beetlenut. It is virtually an exclusion of the most active and enterprising capitalists from dealing in commodities, of which a cheap supply is indispensable to the comforts of the people. The articles in question were the chief subjects of the trading abuses of the Company's own servants, in the period of anarchy and injustice which immediately followed the conquest; and, after the best part of a century has passed over, the same enactments are continued, and not only directed against a class of men who, at the time, had no existence, but applied to a state of society wholly different to that which gave rise to them.

J.

The salary of the Recorder of Bombay, and there was no other King's Judge down to 1824, was 40,000 rupees, at the high exchange of 2s. but £4000; and at the first institution of the court there was no retiring pension. The late Sir James Mackintosh served for seven years on these conditions. The salary of the Recorder of Prince of Wales Island, for twenty years together, was but £3000 a year, without pension, and yet persons deemed worthy of being afterwards promoted to the office of Puisne and Chief Judge of the King's Supreme Courts in India, filled the office. The salary of the present Recorder of the three joint settlements of Prince of Wales Island, Sincapore, and Malacca, is but 18 thousand dollars, or at the exchange of 4s. but £3600 a-year, without any travelling allowance, although the distance between the two remotest settlements which he has to visit, is a voyage of 400 miles. The pension after ten years' service is £1000; the same received by any class of the Company's Judicial officers, or even by a commercial or revenue servant.—*Return of all Civil Offices and Establishments, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1830.*—*Courts of Justice in India, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1829.*

K.

In explanation of what is stated in the text, beginning from the north-west, it may be remarked that there are no British Indigo Planters in the two large districts of Leharunpore and Mozuffurnugger, bordering upon the Himalaya mountains and the Goorka territories; none in the district of Etawa, although lying in the rich territory between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, because exposed to the Mahratta frontier; none in the divisions of Nugeena, Shajehanpore

and Pillibheet, bordering also upon the northern range of mountains, and to the east of the Ganges; none in the province of Bundelcund, so recently the scene of war and anarchy; none in Cuttack, a mismanaged and insurgent district; none in Chittagong, the north-east portion of Rungpore, or Lylhel, districts bordering upon the countries of the barbarous tribes to the east of Bengal; and, of course, none in Arracan, Assam, or any other of our recent acquisitions from the Burmese, countries still more barbarous and anarchical than the latter. It is the same cause, added to a more oppressive and fluctuating system of taxation, and less liberality on the part of their governments, that has generally excluded the manufacture of Indigo from Madras, and wholly excluded it from Bombay.

L.

The trading of the East India Company, with the public revenue, if it deserve the name of trade, has heretofore proved one of the greatest nuisances of the Indian administration. The agents of the Company, necessarily regardless of profit and loss, are reckless of the prices they give in India or receive in England. Operations conducted in this spirit disturb and distract every fair commercial speculation. In short, in the dealings of the Company, the merchant can rely upon nothing but its recklessness and caprice. One example will be sufficient in proof. In the three years, ending with 1829–1830, the Company sustained, even by their own showing, a net loss, on the single article of Indigo, of £291,455 sterling, the amount of loss increasing in each consecutive year, and yet the same losing trade has since been persevered in. The great lord or landed proprietor, who should, from caprice or for vicious frolic, apply the rents of his estate to distract the commercial dealings of a neighbouring village, would not be acting a more unjust or mischievous part.—*Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1831, p. 655.*

M.

The net revenue, derived from the monopoly of Salt, throughout all India, is £1,356,966. This is all that is produced from the consumption of 70 millions of British subjects, and, if we add 20 millions more for the subjects of tributary princes, of 90 millions of people, who pay more for their Salt than the people of England do by about 1350 per cent. or thirteen-and-a-half times. The charges of collecting the revenue under the Salt monopoly in Bengal are about 16 per cent., to which they have risen in the course of the last twenty years from 10 per cent. Under the Madras Presidency they range according to the districts, from 19 up to 36 per cent. In both cases the custom charges are not included, amounting in Bengal to about 18 per cent., and ranging at Madras from about 3 per cent. to 16 per cent.

The net revenue, realized by the Opium monopoly, throughout all India, is £867,330, a sum to which it had fallen from one million and upwards, which it amounted to in 1821. This is a singular tax, being paid throughout by strangers. If we estimate the total consumption of the Chinese, Malays, and others, to be worth £4,000,000 sterling per annum, the Indian revenue is equal to an import duty upon the value of 25 per cent. Both in respect to trade, agriculture, and finance, this monopoly may be described as equally mischievous, pernicious, and impolitic. The Opium poppy is one of the great staple and peculiar products of the soil of India, and it is difficult to assign any limit to the extent to which its growth might be carried. At present it is confined to a couple of districts, and to the territories of tributary princes, where we found it impracticable to control its growth. Every where else the growth of it, unless for the State, is as rigidly prohibited, and without the same just grounds, as the growth of tobacco in England. It is in spite of the monopoly regulations only that the value of the Opium trade with China, the principal mart for it, has, in the course of the fourteen years,

between 1817 and 1831, increased by full 230 per cent. A moderate export duty, or an excise duty, as levied in this country upon Hops, while it would be more productive than the monopoly, in a financial view, would, of course, be more favourable to agriculture, and less vexatious and embarrassing to commerce. Exclusive of proportion of Customs, the charges of collections under this monopoly amount to about 12 per cent., or, if we include the customs, to about 30 per cent., a fact which at once proclaims the improvident character of the tax.

✓ The Tobacco monopoly is limited to a few districts under the Madras Presidency, but, as far as it goes, is still more mischievous than the Salt or Opium monopolies. The gross proceeds, in the year 1827-28, amounted to £85,482, and the charges of collection to £31,843, or, exclusive of Custom's establishments, 37 per cent. In 1818, frauds and embezzlements, on the part of the public officers, were discovered in this monopoly to the extent of £52,646, or to within a fraction of one year's net revenue.

✓ It appears from these statements that the net produce of all the Company's monopolies in India, amounts to no more than £2,277,935, which is about £650,000 less than the net produce of the Custom duty on Tobacco in this country; a tax levied with comparatively very little inconvenience, and little felt by any party, whereas the East India Company's monopolies are accompanied by almost universal annoyance and vexation. The whole charge of collecting the Tobacco duty does not exceed 6 per cent. on the gross amount, while the actual charges of collecting the revenue derived from the Company's monopolies, cannot be less than five times as great. ✓
—Second Report of the Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1830, p. 82 and 98.—Selections from the Records at the India House, vol. 1st, p. 719.

N.

These internal imposts consist of transit-duties, town-duties, after the manner of the Continental *Acbrois*, and duties levied in markets. Sometimes these are farmed, and at other times collected by public establishments. The transit-duties are borrowed from the native governments, and are but a clumsy and mischievous mode of levying a tax upon all articles of consumption. In the single district of Candeish, there existed in 1821, four years after its cession to us from the Mahrattas, and there may possibly still exist, 276 Custom-houses for the levying of frontier and transit-duties, but chiefly the latter. A public officer, speaking of a neighbouring district, and referring to a figured statement, makes the following observation on the character of these transit-duties. "It will be seen from that document, that the duties on some articles are equal, or nearly so, to the original price, and that on others they are not above the hundredth fraction of one per cent., as in the case of Nutmegs, &c., and even so low as a six-hundredth fraction on Opium. It is also to be observed, that the heaviest duties fall on the absolute necessities of life, whilst its luxuries can hardly be said to pay at all."

The transit-duties are so mixed up with others in the public accounts, that it is impossible to ascertain the charges of collection, but there is no doubt they are enormous. The peculations and extortions of the native collectors are, however, still worse, as the following statement of an official document will show. The statement of Mr. Chaplin, the late collector of Bellary, that he considers the sum of 40 thousand pagodas, or about half the amount of the revenue now derived from *sayer*, (miscellaneous duties, of which the chief are transit,) to be annually peculated by the servants of his district in that department; and his description of the progress of a native collector of *sayer*, in obtaining money by improper means, will show the time and attention required to manage successfully this branch of revenue. Mr. C. observes—

✓ "On the subject of the Customs generally, I have but few observations to submit to the Board. Notwithstanding that the revenue has improved of late years, this branch of it forms a perfect sink of fraud and corruption, which seems quite unfathomable. However perfect the regulations may be, they seem to me to be quite insufficient to guard against the combined artifices of merchants and *sayer* servants to defraud the government. No sooner is one check upon embezzlement and smuggling established, than another mode of evasion is invented, and the accounts of the department are so intricate and multifarious, that it is scarcely possible satisfactorily to trace the clue of frauds through the various mazes in which they are involved. This difficulty of proving malversation is the great stumbling-block in the way of all inquiry: great facilities are consequently afforded to the *sayer* servants of appropriating the collections. A needy Brahmin, destitute of the means of subsistence, appointed on a salary of three canteray pagodas per mensem, (between £11 and £12 a-year,) to a chowky (custom-house) of any magnitude, immediately begins to live on a comparatively grand scale, celebrates two or three weddings for himself and his relatives in the course of the year, gives expensive entertainments, provides his wife with costly ornaments, and not unfrequently has a gomartah in his own pay, to assist him in conducting the business of the *chowky*. It is sufficiently obvious whence he derives the means to supply these disbursements, they are obtained, of course, at the Sirkar (public) expense. The ways and means of defrauding the revenue are various."—*Selections from the Records at the India House*, vol. 4th, p. 713 and 768, &c.—vol. 2d, p. 605.

O.

✓ Merchandise which pays import duties at Bombay, if the goods be not imported from Europe or America, for these are protected by locatees or Acts of Parliament, will be liable to frontier and transit-duties, if taken by land into the Madras

territory, or to custom-duties, if conveyed by sea. Should the same goods be conveyed to Calcutta, they may have additional custom-duties to pay there, and if they are conveyed into the interior of the Bengal territory, there will be additional transit, market, or town-duties to pay. Not only this, but the rates of duties, and the principle of assessing them, differ generally under the different India governments of the Company, and all of these differ again with those of the Indian governments of the Crown. The government of Bengal will not consent to receive, except in trifling and limited quantity, the excellent and cheap salt of Madras and Bombay. Even the salt of England will not be received in Bengal except on payment of a duty equal to about ten times its prime cost,—an impost which is, of course, nearly prohibitory, and was in reality meant to be so. In the Madras territory, where corn is dear, and where scarcities or famines are frequent, the grain of Bengal, where there has been no famine or scarcity for half a century, and where there is a constant exportable surplus, will not be received, except in payment of an import-duty; and even then it can only be received in small quantity, as there is nothing to give for it, since the government of Bengal will not permit salt, the staple product of the Madras country, to be freely imported. Thus, the gluts to which Bengal, and the famines and scarcities to which Madras, are liable, are both aggravated by the absurd and indefensible policy of the government.

P.

Besides the example quoted in the text, other instances of the advantage accruing from a fixed and stable system of taxation may be quoted, even from the Indian fiscal system. In the year 1793, the land tax, estimated at 4 nine-tenths of the rent, which rent was calculated at from one-half to one-third, or one-fourth of the gross produce of the land, was limited in perpetuity in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. It has, therefore, been as invariable in these provinces for 40

✓ years, as our own land tax has been in Britain for 140. The results of this measure are very remarkable. The whole revenue has been somewhat more than doubled;—the indirect taxes, or taxes other than the land-tax, have been multiplied near twelve-fold. Before the permanent assessment, the land-tax formed near 70 per cent., and it now forms little more than 40 per cent. At the period of the permanent assessment, land, as far as a private property in it was concerned, was unsaleable, and it is now worth 16 years' purchase. The population, in 1793, did not certainly exceed 24 millions, and the same territory, in 1822, was found to contain 33 and a-half millions of inhabitants. This may be contrasted with the results in a portion of British India, where every branch of the public revenue has been in a constant state of fluctuation, since our first acquisition of it in 1800. This is the territory commonly called the "Ceded Districts" under Madras, and which is equal in extent to the kingdom of Scotland. In the 23 years between 1806 and 1829, the total revenue had declined by above ten per cent.—the indirect taxes, or taxes other than the land tax, had increased by about 240 per cent. The variable land-tax had fallen off by 30 per cent. The land-tax which, in 1806, formed 93 parts in 100, still formed 75 parts in 100, in 1829. Land, which was nearly unsaleable in the first-named year, was equally so after an interval of three-and-twenty years; and the population, which in 1806 was 1,917,376, was in 1823 no more than 2,022,317, or in 16 years had sustained an augmentation of no more than five per cent., a rate of increase much smaller than that of the old and densely peopled countries of Europe,—a fact the more remarkable, since the distinguished individual who first arranged this portion of the country, the late Sir Thomas Munro, by far the most skilful of the ministerial officers of the Indian government, had used, in reference to this particular subject, the following remarkable words: "Were it not for the pressure of the land-rent, (tax,) population ought to advance more rapidly in India than in America; because the climate is more favourable, and because there are every where great tracts of good land uncultivated,

which may be ploughed at once, without the labour and expense of clearing away forests. As there are above three millions of acres of this description in the Ceded Districts, it cannot be doubted that a very considerable addition will be made, in 20 or 25 years, to the population, and also to the land rent, (tax,) beyond the highest estimate which has been made of it."—*Second Report of Select Committee of House of Commons of 1810*, p. 80.—*Second Report of 1830*, p. 98.—*Fifth Report, 1812*, p. 946.

Q.

In concluding this Appendix, it may be a matter of some convenience to the reader, to bring together a few of the opinions recently expressed by the most able and enlightened officers of the Indian Government. Sir Charles Metcalfe, a member of the Supreme Council, a man of distinguished talents, long experience, and enlightened views, thus expresses himself, in a Minute, dated the 19th of February, 1829 :—
 "I have long lamented that our countrymen in India are excluded from the possession of land, and other ordinary rights of peaceable subjects.—I believe that the existence of these restrictions impedes the prosperity of our Indian empire, and, of course, that their removal would tend to promote it.—I am also of opinion that their abolition is necessary for that progressive increase of revenue, without which our income cannot keep pace with the continually increasing expense of our establishments.—I am further convinced that our possession of India must always be precarious, unless we take root, by having an influential portion of the population attached to our government by common interests and sympathies.—Every measure, therefore, which is calculated to facilitate the settlement of our countrymen in India, and to remove the obstructions by which it is impeded, must, I conceive, conduce to the stability of our rule, and to the welfare of the people subject to our dominion.—The proceeding now adopted being a step forward, in what appears to me to be the right course, has my

✓ hearty concurrence." Lord William Bentinck, after declaring his entire concurrence in the sentiments expressed by Sir Charles Metcalfe, proceeds in a long, argumentative, and eloquent minute in Council, to express his views. There is room here only for the following passage, which affords after all, however, but a very inadequate sample of a most instructive and interesting document. "We need not, I imagine," says he, "use any laboured argument to prove that it would be infinitely advantageous for India to borrow largely in arts and knowledge from England. The Legislature has expressly declared the truth; its acknowledgment is implied in the daily arts and professions of government, and in all the efforts of humane individuals and societies for the education of the people. Nor will it, I conceive, be doubted, that the diffusion of useful knowledge, and its application to the arts and business of life, must be comparatively tardy, unless we add to precept the example of Europeans, mingling familiarly with the natives in the course of their profession, and practically demonstrating, by daily recurring evidence, the nature and the value of the principles we desire to inculcate, and of the plans we seek to have adopted. It seems to be almost equally plain, that independently of their influencing the native community in this way, various and important national advantages will result from there being a considerable body of our countrymen, and their descendants, settled in the country. To question it, is to deny the superiority which has gained us the dominion of India: it is to doubt whether national character has any effect on national wealth, strength, and good government: it is to shut our eyes to all the perils and difficulties of our situation: it is to hold as nothing community of language, sentiment, and interest, between the government and the governed: it is to disregard the evidence afforded by every corner of the globe in which the British flag is hoisted: it is to tell our merchants and our manufacturers, that the habits of a people go for nothing in creating a market, and that enterprise, skill, and capital, and the credit which creates capital, are of no avail in the production of commodities."

To these testimonies, I shall only add the evidence of Mr.

Mackenzie—the ablest, and the best informed man, connected with the Indian Government in my time:—“Are you not aware that the case of the Indigo Planters has often been adduced as a proof that the ownership of land, on the part of Englishmen in India, must produce effects very detrimental to the English character in that country?”——“I believe that opinion has been held by many. I should observe, that never having been in charge of a district myself, I can only speak from the authority of others; but I have communicated on the subject with a great number of public officers, and also with many individuals not in the service. The general result of my inquiry is, that the disorders of a few have been allowed a great deal too much weight, in estimating the general character of the class; and, on the general question, I should say, that the balance of good is exceedingly great. I consider the evils, in the lower parts of Bengal, with which I am best acquainted, to have arisen, in a considerable degree, out of the restrictions upon the settlement of Europeans in India. If the persons who own, or support the indigo factories, had been allowed to send home for any persons whom they thought likely to be good managers, their concerns would have been in the hands of a class very superior to many who, from necessity, they have been compelled to employ; for factories are, I believe, often in the hands of persons not qualified for so great a trust. I apprehend, also, that great mischief has arisen out of the difficulty of occupying land, by which Europeans have been compelled to hold land, which they do very extensively, in the name of native agents. I have understood, from gentlemen, indigo planters themselves, that they were compelled, frequently, to wink at abuse on the part of the natives whom they employed, chiefly because the land being in their name, they had the means, if not of ruining them, at least of putting them to great loss and inconvenience. Another effect of the prevention of Europeans holding land avowedly is, that, when disputes arise in the Courts, it is much more difficult to get at the real truth, and, therefore, there is a great opening to litigation. I think it probable, if Europeans had the power of holding land, that the tenures

necessary for the conduct of their indigo business would have been fully ascertained, and there would rarely have arisen the question, now often disputed, Whether a particular planter be entitled to the produce of a particular tract of land or not? Under the present system, it constantly happens that the Courts are called on the spur of the moment to decide disputes involved in doubt; and, as their decision can hardly be quick enough to save the season, the indigo planters are often compelled, in their self-defence, to use force to secure their rights. I think the prevailing opinion of the public officers in Bengal, to whose opinion I should attach most weight, was, that the indigo trade had very greatly added to the wealth of the districts in which it was established, and benefited the native inhabitants, and that the outrages complained of were rather exceptions to the general rule.”——“Does there exist any general jealousy on the part of the natives of Europeans occupying land in India?”——“I am not aware of any such jealousy; but I have no doubt that particular classes may object to it, and be unwilling to have Europeans settled in their neighbourhood. I should think a considerable number of Bengal Zemindars would object; for many oppress their tenants exceedingly.”——“Should you suppose the higher classes throughout India would generally be averse to it?”——“I think not, supposing the Europeans respectable.”

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"The floating of other men's opinions in our brains makes us not one jot the more knowing, though they happen to be true. What in them was science, is in us but opiniatrety, whilst we give up our assent only to revered names, and do not, as they did, employ our own Reason to *understand* those truths which gave them reputation."—*Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding, Book I. Chap. 4. Sect. 23.*

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